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PROBLEMS OF THE FORMATION OF UNIFIED NORMS IN THE BASHKIR NATIONAL LANGUAGE. PRELIMINARY TRANSLATIONS OF SELECTED WORKS IN SOCIOLINGUISTICS. NUMBER IV.

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THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A STANDARD NORM IN THE BASHKIR NATIONAL LANGUAGE BEGAN, ESSENTIALLY, AS LATE AS THE 1930'S AFTER THE FORMATION OF THE BASHKIR A.S.R. BEFORE THIS, THE BASHKIR LANGUAGE DID NOT HAVE A STANDARD LITERARY FORM. PROGRESSIVE BASHKIR EDUCATORS OF THE LATE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES FOUGHT FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE LITERARY LANGUAGE FROM ELEMENTS OF CENTRAL ASIATIC TURKI. AS A RESULT, A SIGNIFICANT LITERATURE WAS CREATED AT THE BEGINNING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY BASED PRIMARILY ON COLLOQUIAL (SPOKEN) BASHKIR. THE INFLUENCE OF TURKI ON THE WRITTEN LANGUAGE WAS SO DEEP, HOWEVER, THAT THE FEATURES OF THE ORAL LANGUAGE COULD NOT BECOME PREDOMINANT IN THE WRITTEN LANGUAGE. THE SPOKEN ("FOLK-COLLOQUIAL") BASHKIR IS DESCRIBED AS HAVING SPLIT INTO THREE TERRITORIAL DIALECT GROUPS, WHICH DEVELOPED UNDER DIFFERENT SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS DURING THE SIXTEENTH TO EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES--(1) THE NORTHWESTERN DIALECTS, STRONGLY INFLUENCED BY TATAR, (2) THE SOUTHWESTERN DIALECTS, COMPARATIVELY UNIFIED IN THE JURMATI DIALECT, AND (3) THE NORTHEASTERN GROUPS, REPRESENTED BY THE KUVAKAN DIALECT. WHILE THE JURMATI AND KUVAKAN DIALECTS DEVELOPED SEPARATELY IN THE LAST TWO CENTURIES, THEY STILL MOST FULLY PRESENT THE CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF THE BASHKIR LANGUAGE WHICH WERE LOST BY MANY NORTHWESTERN DIALECTS AS THE RESULT OF FOREIGN INFLUENCE. THE COMMUNALITY OF FEATURES IN THESE TWO DIALECTS SERVED AS A PREMISE (ACCORDING TO A RESOLUTION ADOPTED IN 1925). A DISCUSSION OF THE LINGUISTIC PROBLEMS INVOLVED AS WELL AS NUMEROUS NOTES AND REFERENCES ARE INCLUDED IN THIS STUDY, TRANSLATED BY PHILIP DORFF OF THE CENTER FOR APPLIED LINGUISTICS. CONTENT EDITOR WAS NICHOLAS POPPE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON. THIS STUDY APPEARED ORIGINALLY IN "VOPROSY FORMIROVANIJA I RAZVITIJA NACIONAL'NYX JAZYKOV (PROBLEMS OF THE FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL LANGUAGES)," M.M. GUXMAN, EDITOR, MOSCOW, 1960. (AMM)

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PROBLEMS OF THE FORMATION OF UNIFIED NORMS IN THE BASHKIR NATIONAL LANGUAGE

by A. A. Juldašev

[Guxman, Voprosy ..., pp. 274-294. Translated by Philip Dorff, Center for Applied Linguistics.]

The establishment of standard norms in the Bashkir national language began, essentially, as late as the thirties of the present century, after the formation of the Bashkir A.S.S.R. Before this, the Bashkir language did not have a standard literary norm. It was represented, for the most part, by the folk-colloquial form of the language, although the literate portion of the population also used a written language which, for the entire duration of its history up to the October Socialist Revolution, considerably differed from the folk-colloquial form of Bashkir.

Around the middle of the eighteenth century a chancery style emerged in the written language, in many respects close to the colloquial style of Bashkir.[1] This style persisted in the business papers of that time and was widely used in the works of Salavat Julaev as well.[2] At the end of the eighteenth century, however, in connection with the formation of the Central Spiritual Jurisdiction of the Muslims in Ufa,[3] the features of the Central Asiatic variety of the language Tjurkâ began to dominate all styles of the written language. This may be traced not only in the works of the religious-clerical writers of the period, but in the business papers as well. The development of the literary language proceeded almost in complete isolation from the oral Bashkir language.

In a later period, the literary language up until the thirties of the twentieth century was based completely on the Tatar literary language. For

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this reason the written and oral varieties of the language continued to remain isolated. Progressive Bashkir personalities, beginning with the Bashkir educators of the end of the nineteenth century, M. Bikčurin and M. Umitbaev, and ending with the writers at the beginning of the twentieth century, fought for the liberation of the literary language from elements of Central Asiatic Tjurká. As a result of the efforts of Bashkir writers (M. Gafuri and others), a significant literature was created at the beginning of the twentieth century, based primarily on colloquial Bashkir and playing, therefore, an important role in the unification of the written and oral languages.[4] The influence of the Central Asiatic Tjurká on the written language was so deep, however, and the support which this written language enjoyed from the reactionary layer of the Bashkir intelligentsia and clergy who rejected everything native was so strong that the features of the oral language under such circumstances could not become predominant in the written language of the Bashkirs.

The Bashkir language in its folk-colloquial form split into three territorial dialects, formed in the sixteenth - eighteenth centuries on the base of closely related tribal dialects as a result of the economic and political concentration of tribal unions and groups. These dialects developed under different socio-economic conditions.

With respect to economy and culture, Bashkiria gradually divided into two districts beginning in the sixteenth century. The first district is Western and North-Western Bashkiria where the transition to a sedentary way of life and agriculture began as early as the sixteenth century and was completed around the beginning of the twentieth century and where the socio-economic life was built on capitalistic foundations before the October Socialist Revolution. The other district is Southern and South-Eastern Bashkiria

where the patriarchal-tribal way of life was preserved to a significant extent and where even toward the beginning of the formation of the Bashkir A.S.S.R. the Bashkirs led a semi-nomadic way of life, occupying themselves primarily with cattle-breeding, lumber work, and hunting.[5]

As a result, the development of Bashkir dialects and patois followed two different courses. The above-mentioned socio-economic factors and resulting weakness of the economic and cultural connections in South and South-Eastern Bashkiria inevitably led to greater dialect and patois differentiation and to a breach in the development of Bashkir dialects and patois represented in the North-Western part of Bashkiria where, due to a radical change in the mode of life, the connection and interaction between the dialects and patois was unusually animated? enlivened beginning in the eighteenth century, leading to the obliteration of borders between them as early as the nineteenth century.

The North-Western dialect, whose speakers occupy almost half of the territory of Bashkiria, was, from ancient times, in constant and close contact with the Tartar language.[6] This contact became more intimate with the fall of the Kazan Khanate. A mass resettlement of Tartars to North-Western Bashkiria began in the fifties of the sixteenth century,[7] as a result of which the population ratio was changed in several places. And although the seventeenth-nineteenth century resettlement of the Tartars to the territory of Bashkiria did not take place on the same scale as that of the sixteenth century, nevertheless the influence of the Tartar linguistic environment continued to strengthen itself. This was facilitated not only by a numerical preponderance of Tartars in some regions of Bashkiria, especially in the Western part of the territory of the North-Western dialect, but by a series of other factors

as well, namely: by the leading role of the Tartar settlers in agriculture, with which the Bashkirs, going over to a sedentary way of life had just begun to occupy themselves;[8] by the appearance of trade centers in the cities of Ufa, Belebej, Birskij, Sterlitamak with a predominantly Tartar population, which traded in urban as well as rural localities; by the opening of secular schools, where teaching was conducted primarily in the Tartar language; by the wide distribution among the Tartar population of the Tartar literary language, Tartar journalistic and artistic literature, which to a great extent was published in Bashkiria itself, etc.

On the strength of these factors, the process, characteristic of this dialect, of intensive interaction of the patois entering into it proceeded under the circumstances of the dominant significance of the Tartar linguistic environment. This evoked a transformation of the Bashkir patois and the leveling of their characteristic features. Only two characteristic features of the Bashkir language entered permanently into the system of the dialect under investigation: 1. the replacement of Old Turkic d and z in inlaut and auslaut by interdental ð (biz-dä > beððä 'we have', bar-duk > bar-ðïq 'we go', kaz > kað 'goose'); 2. the use in the structure of the form of the present tense of the cluster -aj instead of the Tartar -ïj (compare the dialect almaj 'he, she is not taking', očïraj 'is being caught', 'is being met', ašaj 'he, she is eating', with the Tartar almïj, očïrïj, ašïj with the same meanings, etc.). In all the rest, the characteristic features of the Tartar language, more precisely of its central dialect, took hold.

Thus, the whole group of Bashkir dialects, which appeared in the North-Western half of the territory of Bashkiria, based on the former tribal dialects of the Uran, Hajna, Tazzar, etc., united into a single dialect which,

in all its characteristic features was opposed to the group of Southern and South-Eastern Bashkir dialects, whose development proceeded along different lines.

The socio-economic conditions in South-Eastern Bashkiria in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries also changed to a certain degree. Here two regions became gradually isolated: the North-Eastern steppe and forest-steppe region, where semi-nomadic cattle-breeding was combined with agriculture, and the South-Eastern mountainous region, where the dominant economy was semi-nomadic cattle-breeding with almost no agriculture.

The South-Eastern region was inhabited by the Burzjan, Tangaur, Usergan, Jurmatin, Kipčak and Tam-jan tribes,[9] on the basis of whose tribal dialects a comparatively unified territorial dialect was formed. The nature of this dialect was in many respects defined by the tribal dialects of the Jurmatin (ethnically formed as a result of a mixture of Nogaj and Tartars).[10] This dialect is usually called the Jurmatin.

Into the North-Eastern group of the Bashkirs entered the following tribes: Tabïn, Kataj, Saljut, Aj (Ajle) and Kudej.[11] On the basis of the dialects of these tribes the so-called Kuvakan dialect was formed, with predominance of the linguistic features of the former tribal dialect of the Tabïn and Kataj, going back to the Kidan tribes of Central Asia.[12]

The difference in the economic-cultural life of the Southern and Northern regions of Eastern Bashkiria, observed even before the beginning of the eighteenth century, was preserved until the formation of the Bashkir A.S.S.R. In view of this, the Jurmatin and Kuvakan dialects developed separately in the course of the past two centuries. As a result, these dialects exhibit notable differences both in their lexicon as well as, particularly, in their phonetics,

all the more because the structure of the tribal dialects and patois entering into these dialects could not have been uniform.[13]

The main features of the Jurmatin dialect which is characterized by the comparatively intensive interaction of the dialects united by it may be reduced to the following:[14] 1. Old Turkic s in inlaut becomes interdental θ, in anlaut and, at the beginning of an affix, h: susar > huθar 'martin', sarï > harï 'yellow', kelsär > kilhä 'if he, she shall arrive by foot, by vehicle'; 2. the palatalization of the sound structure of an entire series of words: compare Jur. äse 'sour', äð 'little', äðeräk 'a little', hälmäk 'weighty', 'moderate', kesertkän 'nettle' with the forms of other dialects: aǰï, asï, að, aðïraq, halmaq, salmaq, qïsïtqan, qïčïfqan, with the same meanings; 3. the preservation of the initial l affix, excepting where the given sound appears in an environment with sonorant sounds when l becomes n (kön+lär > könnär 'days', jün+le > jünne 'explanatory', tyŋ+lan > tyŋna 'you listen', kiŋ+lek > kiŋnek 'breadth').

The Kuvakan dialect, fusing with all the dialects entering into it (of which there are considerably more than in the Jurmatin dialect), differs from the latter for the most part with respect to the following features:

1. Old Turkic s in words of Turkic origin consistently becomes h: compare Jur. husar and Kuv. huhar, hïuhar 'martin', etc.

2. Words of the type asï 'sour', aqïrïn 'silently', 'slowly', að 'little', sas 'hair', ajðanïu 'to revolve', 'to spin', 'to turn', halmaq 'weighty', 'moderate', arsïu 'to clean', as distinct from the Jurmatin dialect, represented by a postpalatal sound structure.

3. The consistent progressive assimilation and dissimilation of initial n, d, l of an affix, as a result of which affixes with initial n, d, l,

depending upon the nature of the preceding sound, have four phonetic variants.

4. A developed terminology reflecting the specific details of the material culture of the Bashkir people, their patriarchal-tribal way of life and cattle-breeding economy.

Despite all their divergences, however, the Kuvakan and Jurmatin dialects display a large communality of features. This, above all, applies to the grammatical structure. These dialects differ from one another with respect to neither the structure of grammatical forms, nor their basic meanings.[15]

To a significant extent such is the case also in the lexicon which constitutes the so-called basic vocabulary and which is divisible into a series of elements, for the most part going back to an Old Turkic language base, partially, however, to foreign sources.

In the realm of phonetics, the Kuvakan and Jurmatin dialects agree with all the other patois and dialects: 1. in the structure and articulation of the majority of vowels (i, e, ä, ü, ö, ï, o, u) and consonants (b, n, labio-dental v, bilabial y, d, x, t, z, s, š, j, k, g, q, γ, x, r, l, m, n, ŋ) phonemes; 2. in the use of vowels in words and affixes of Turkic origin in conformity to the law of palatal synharmonism, excluding complex words of the type bilbau 'waist belt', 'belt'; 3. in the laws of high vowel reduction in words containing the sonorants r, m, n, l; 4. according to the laws of vowel elision;[16] 5. in the law of the so-called interruption of vowels, operative in the Tatar, Čuvash and (partially) the Xakas languages; 6. in the voicing of final voiceless sounds and initial voiceless sounds of the second structural part of complex words in intervocalic position; 7. in the intonation system, in particular, in the laws of stress;[17] 8. in several laws of assimilation and other aspects of positional change of consonants.[18]

The Kuvakan and Jurmatin dialects also agree in the fact that they most fully present the characteristic features of the Bashkir language which were lost by many North-Western dialects as the result of foreign influence and which, by their roots, apparently date back to the period of the formation of the basic ethnic features of the Bashkir tribes, i.e., to the period prior to the thirteenth century when the Bashkir language, as may be judged on the basis of very scanty and fragmentary though thoroughly reliable evidence[19] constituted a certain unity.[20] Here, first of all, belong the following phonetic features: 1. the absence of the phoneme č and the subsequent consistent transition of Old Turkic č into s: compare Old Turkic ač 'to open', čačak 'flower' and Bashkir as, säsäk with the same meanings; 2. the absence of the phoneme ž which corresponds to the combinat of sounds jï or je: compare North-Western[21] žir 'earth', žide 'seven' with Bashkir jer, jete with the same meanings; 3. the voicing of initial n: compare Old Turkic puš 'to ripen', 'to be in time', pušan 'to be angry' with Bashkir beš 'to ripen', 'to be in-time', to boil, bošonou 'to experience', 'to be anxious'; 4. the transition in certain positions of Old Turkic z and d into interdental ð: compare Old Turkic biz-de 'we have' with Bashkir beððä; 5. ä corresponds in many cases to root i in Tartar and many other Turkic languages: compare Bashkir käräk 'necessary', käštä 'shelf', käŋäš 'advice', kärtä 'fence', käbän 'stork', käbäk 'chaff', etc., and Tartar kiräk, kištä, kiŋäš, kirtä, kibän, kibäk with the same meanings; 6. observance of the law of labial harmony: compare Bashkir tormošoboð-ðoŋ 'of our life', kömöš 'silver' with Tartar tormïšïbïznïŋ, kömeš with the same meanings; 7. the voicing of initial q and k at word junctures in intervocalic position or preceded by a sonorant: qara qašlï > qara ɣašlï 'black eyebrowed', ike qullap > ike ɣullap 'willingly', matur kala > matur

γala 'beautiful city', ike kitap > ike gitap 'two books'; 8. the consistent diphthongization of final i in strong position: γälej (a proper name), Välej (a proper name), compare North-Western γäli, Väli;[22] 9. a tendency towards consonant loss in several words: jaθï (Kuv. jahï) 'flat', joma 'Friday', eθe (Kuv. ehe) 'hot', ajïk 'sober', bïnan 'from here', etc. Compare the North-Western jassï, jomγa, žomga, esse, ajnïk, mïnnan, bonnan; 10. a tendency to replace the rounded mid vowel o or u by the unrounded sound of the same series ï: bïðau 'calf', bïγau 'fetters', sïbar 'piebald', šïma 'smooth', compare the North-Western bozau, boγau, čobar, šoma; 11. a tendency for x to alternate with q: qatïn 'wife', 'woman', jaqšy 'good', compare North-Western xatïn, jaxšï; 12. a tendency for č and s to alternate with š: šaršambï 'Wednesday', 'surroundings', šišmä 'stream', šaršau 'curtain', šïršï 'fir-tree', sïjïq 'liquid', compare North-Western čaršambï, čišmä, čïršï, sijïq.

The Kuvakan and Jurmatin dialects also most fully present the specific features of the lexical structure of the Bashkir language.

The communality of features in the Kuvakan and Jurmatin dialects served as a premise for the creation of a unified national Bashkir language. Nevertheless, for a number of reasons[23] there was no talk of its establishment until the October Socialist Revolution.

After the Great October Socialist Revolution, due to the steadfast introduction of the Lenin national policy into the life of the people, the question of the creation of a Bashkir national language was the center of attention throughout the entire Bashkir A.S.S.R. In May 1918 in Moscow, a special conference of responsible Bashkir and Tartar worker-Communists was set up for the consideration of questions connected with the creation of a Bashkir national literary language.

In the same year, the Central Commission on Questions Concerning the Bashkir Language was created with the eminent political and social personage Š. Xudajberdin at its head. This commission solved a number of the most urgent organizational tasks concerning the preparation of national specialists, the creation of a national literature, a national publishing house,[24] and a theater in Ufa and Sterlitamak and a whole number of other questions concerned with raising the cultural level of the Bashkir people. In 1923 a special committee was organized for the establishment of a national system of writing and the compilation of text books and educational aids in the Bashkir language.

During the process of introducing all these measures, the question was raised of the dialect base of the literary language. On April 9, 1921, after lengthy controversies,[25] a resolution was adopted to base the Bashkir literary language on the Kuvakan dialect.[26] However, this resolution did not yield the expected results. It was soon ascertained that far from all of the features characteristic of the Kuvakan dialect were characteristic of the Bashkir language as a whole. This dialect could not resist the remaining dialects which, to a greater or lesser degree, had been influenced by the Tartar language and could not steer the other dialects into the mainstream of Bashkir language development.

This latter role could be played by the Kuvakan and Jurmatin dialects together. The common features of these two dialects even constituted the national base of the Bashkir language. This is why a resolution was adopted in 1925 to make these two dialects the base of the Bashkir literary language.

The establishment of the literary language on the basis of the above mentioned two dialects was time-consuming and exceedingly difficult. This is

explained first by the fact that significant divergences are to be observed in the phonetic and lexical structures of the Kuvakan and Jurmatin dialects and that, furthermore, they are divided into a number of patois, each having its specific characteristics; secondly, these dialects had not yet been investigated at the time, the existing knowledge of them was of only a tentative character; thirdly, in the literary language in 1921-25 many of the especially dialectal characteristics of the Kuvakan dialect were legalized.

The problem of standardization was reduced to the conscious selection and introduction into the literary language of those analogous features of the Kuvakan and Jurmatin dialects which, on the one hand, dominated the features with respect to which the given dialects were different and those features which differentiated them from the North-Western dialect and constituted the specific differences of the Bashkir language, on the other. For the most part this concerned orthoepy, spelling, and vocabulary. The standardization of the language could not be hurried, inasmuch as there were insufficient scientifically based data. Therefore, as early as the second half of the thirties, the need for the acquisition and careful investigation of the corresponding linguistic materials became apparent. In carrying out this task, Bashkirists organized and conducted seventeen expeditions around the regions of Bashkiria which enabled them to collect extensive material. The first results of the study of this material were published in the form of separate articles in the pages of the local press.[27]

The fruits of the developing work on the investigation of the features of the Bashkir language were expressed also in the Bashkir language grammars which appeared in the thirties and later.[28]

As the result of all this work, the above-mentioned phonetic features

of the Bashkir language were canonized (with the exception of the voicing of initial ğ and γ at word junctures in intervocalic position and after sonorants). With respect to the pronunciation of the basic mass of the Bashkir population, i.e., of the speakers of the Kuvakan and Jurmatï dialects, this list of characteristic features of Bashkir orthoepy was gradually completed. In particular, the following characteristic features of these dialects entered into the literary norm:

1. The law of assimilation and dissimilation of consonantal affixes, observed in the main in the Kuvakan dialect, according to which the Bashkir language, as distinct from the Tartar and other Turkic languages, is in many respects identical with the Kazak, Karakalpak, Xakas, Kirgiz, and Altaj languages:

a) the assimilation and dissimilation of the initial n of an affix: its transition into t after final voiceless p, t, s, š, ğ, k, f (compare taš+nyŋ > taštyŋ 'stone (gen.)', kitap+nï > kitaptï 'book (acc.)', ayas+nyŋ > ayastïŋ 'tree (gen.)' qalaq+nï > qalaqtï 'spoon (acc.)', esäk+neŋ > esäkteŋ 'intestine (gen.)', škaf+nïŋ > škaftïn 'cupboard (gen.)'; its transition into d after preceding l, m, n, ŋ (compare bal+nï > baldï 'honey', qäläm+neŋ > kälämdeŋ 'pencil (gen.)', on+nï > ondo 'flour', ulïŋ+nï > ulïŋdï 'your son (gen.)'); the transition into ð after r, ð, u, ü (compare hïjïr+nï > hïjïrðï 'cow (acc.)', bað+nïŋ > baððïŋ 'cellar (gen.)', bau+nï > bauðï 'rope (acc.)', beleü+neŋ > beleüðeŋ 'knowledge (gen.)');

b) assimilation and dissimilation of initial d: the transition of d into n in affixes of an oblique case or past tense in t after the vowels a, ä (compare bala+dan > balanan 'from the baby', bülmä+dän > bülmänän 'from the room', kara+dïm > karanïm 'I was looking'); the transition of d into ð

in inflectional affixes and the past categorical tense after preceding ð, r, u, j (compare bau+nï > bauðï 'rope (acc.)', bar+dïk > barðïk 'we are going (by foot), we were traveling (by vehicle)', beðtdä > beððä 'we have', malaj+nïqï > malajðïqï 'belonging to the boy'); the transition of d into l in the locative case affix and in the particle da // dä after vowels (compare qala+da > kalala 'in the town', üðe lä 'and ... himself, itself', the transition of d into t after voiceless consonants (compare qas+dïk > qastïk 'we hid', eš+dä > eštä 'at work').

c) the assimilation and dissimilation of initial l: the transition of l into t after voiceless consonants (compare jort+lar > jorttar 'houses' ištäš+lär > ištäštär 'comrades'); the transition of l into d after l, m, n, ŋ, ž (compare mal+lar > maldar 'cattle', kejem+lär > kejemdär 'clothes', kön+lär > köndär 'days', eŋ+lär > eŋdär 'sleeves'); the transition of l into ð after r, ð, u, j (compare kïð+lar > kïððar 'girls', bau+lar > bauðar 'ropes', tamïr+lar > tamïrðar 'ropes', öj+lär > öjðär 'houses').

2. A specific regularity of the Jurmatïn dialect is the replacement of the original postdental spirant s by the interdental θ in inlaut[29] and auslaut: qïθka 'short' (compare the North-Western qïsqa, Kuv. qïhqa with the same meanings), baθ- 'press' (compare the North-Western, Old Turkic bas-, Kuv. bah- with the same meanings).

3. Represented most clearly in the Kuvakan dialect is the tendency for o to alternate with u (compare the literary Bashkir butka 'porridge', butau 'stir', karluγas 'swallow', muŋajïu 'to be bored', ošo 'this', 'this one' and the North-Western, in part Jur. botka, botau, qarlïγač, qarlïγas, moŋajïu, šušï); and a to alternate with u (compare literary Bashkir unda 'there', 'he has', undaj 'such', unyŋ 'he (gen., acc.)', uγa 'he (dat.)' 'her (dat.)' and the North-Western, Jur. anda, andïj, anïŋ, eŋa).

4. The tendency for ö to alternate with ü: bögön 'today', bögöngö 'today's (adj.)', kökört 'sulphur' (compare the North-Western bügen, bügenge, kükert).

5. The tendency for insertion, in certain cases, of consonant sounds: bïl 'this', ïltïr 'to sit down', ultïrïš 'sitting', kisänge 'yesterday's (adj.)', bojðaj 'wheat', herpertke 'broom', etc. (compare the North-Western bu, utïr, utïrïš, kisäge, kičäge, boðaj, bodaj, heberke, seberke, etc.).

6. The tendency to devoice b, d, g, f: heperekü 'sweep', timäk 'thus', tiθtä 'ten', jete 'seven', käüðä 'trunk', kerpek 'eyelash', tupraq 'soil', earth', japraq 'leaf', etc. (compare the North-Western hepereü, seberü, dimäk, distä, ðide, gäüdä, kerfek, tufraq, etc.).

7. The tendency for t to alternate with s: sïskan 'mouse', sösö 'fresh', söskorö̈ü 'to sneeze' (compare the North-Western tïsqan, tïčqan, töče, töčkereü).

8. The tendency for g (k) to alternate with n: siŋertkä 'grasshopper', tüŋäräk 'round', niŋä 'why' (compare North-Western čikertkä, tügäräk, nigä).

9. The tendency for l to alternate with n: jondoð 'star', sögöldör 'beet', menän 'with', etc. (compare North-Western joldïð, čögönder, belän, etc.).

10. The tendency observed in the Kuvakan dialect for b to alternate with m: menän 'with', qïsmau 'bandage', morondoq 'muzzle', bïna 'here (particle)', (compare the North-Western and Jur. belän, boronlïq, mïna).

11. Particular cases of consonantal alternation: l, r, ð (compare Bashkir arqïrï 'through', töjðögän 'kite' and the North-Western arqïlï, tilegän); f and b (compare Bashkir jebäk 'silk' and the North-Western jefäk); k and t (compare Bashkir terpe 'hedgehog' with North-Western kerpe); m and d (compare

Bashkir küldäk 'shirt' with the North-Western külmäk); b and ü (compare Bashkir keüek 'similar' with the North-Western kebek with the same meaning); ŋ and m (compare Bashkir jamγïr 'rain' with the North-Western jaŋγïr with the same meaning); r and j (compare Bashkir beräj 'some kind of' with the North-Western berär with the same meaning); d and n (compare Bashkir ine with the North-Western ide), etc.

12. Elision and assimilation at the junction of an analytic form of the past tense in -γan ine (compare Common Bashkir barγajnïm 'I was going on foot' with the North-Western barγan 'we are going') and at the junction of the components of complex words oläsäj 'grandmother' (olo äsäj), olataj 'grandfather' (olo ataj), harajak 'the offspring of big horned cattle, born in the fall' (harï ajaq), Qaridel, the name of a river, etc.

13. Particular cases of vowel alternation: i with ä (compare Bashkir irlän 'hamster', hike 'plank bed' with the North-Western ärlän, säke with the same meaning); e with ö (compare Bashkir bötöu 'to be finished' with the North-Western betü with the same meaning); a with ï (compare Bashkir jaθmïq 'lentil', čïbaγas 'chain' šïršau 'curtain', umurθïja 'snowdrop' tiθtamal 'towel' with the North-Western jasmak, čebaγač, sabaγač, čaršau, umïrθaja, tastïmal with the same meanings; je and jï with i (compare Bashkir jeskäü 'to smell' feker 'thought', serekäj 'gnat', teješ 'must', jetem 'orphan', ilau 'to cry' with the North-Western isnäü, fiker, čirki, tieš, žätim, jïlau); e with i (compare Bashkir ireteü 'smelt' with the North-Western eretü with the same meaning); i and ü (compare Bashkir kügäüen 'gadfly' with the North-Western kigeüen); e with ö (compare Bashkir meŋ 'thousand' with the North-Western möŋ with the same meaning); ö and u (compare Bashkir γumer 'life' with the North-Western γömer with the same meaning), etc.

With few exceptions, the enumerated characteristic features of the

Bashkir language were in many respects common to the Kuvakan and Jurmatin dialects. They thus easily entered the literary language.

Considerable difficulty was caused only by the assimilation and dissimilation of consonants. This is explained by the great divergence of the dialects of the Bashkir language, including the major ones, with respect to the given phenomenon. Thus, in the Kuvakan dialect, the assimilation and dissimilation of consonants at affix-base junctures occurs unusually widely and consistently,[30] while in the North-Western dialect it is of a different regularity and consistency.[31] The Jurmatin dialect, however, here occupies an intermediate position.[32] The norms which existed until 1925 based on data taken from the Kuvakan dialect, were essentially opposed to the newly established norms oriented for the most part towards the Jurmatin dialect[33] and corresponded neither to the regularities of this latter dialect[34] nor to those of any of the other Bashkir dialects. The new norms, in addition, are not distinguished by sufficient consistency inasmuch as they are essentially a mechanical mixture of the rules of several dialects.[35] If one in this connection takes into consideration that the regularities of the one dialect in their relation to the regularities of the other dialect are in this case, as a rule, mutually exclusive, it is not difficult to understand why the existing norms relating to assimilation and dissimilation of consonants at affix-base junctures are acquired with great difficulty and up until the present time continue to remain controversial.

Such also is the existing practice of pronouncing and writing homonyms. As a rule, they are based on the pronunciation of the majority of the Bashkir people represented in the territory of the Kuvakan and Jurmatin dialects. In addition, a significant part of the homonyms are differentiated

on the basis of their phonetic variants in the various dialects and patois and, occasionally, on the basis of variants created by the "standardizers" themselves: compare tura 'straight' and turï 'bay', nigä 'to what' and niŋä 'why', 'what for', eθ 'smell' and iθ 'feeling', 'memory', 'consciousness', tuγan 'brother', 'native', 'relative', and tïuγan 'he was born', 'born', aθïl 'noble', 'valuable', and asïl 'essence', 'foundation', 'rudimentary', ön 'voice', 'sound', and öŋ 'den', 'lair', aγïn 'rapidly flowing' and aγïm 'flow', tarï 'millet', and darï 'powder', šïjïq 'liquid', and hïjïq 'flexible', 'elastic', qatlam 'layer (of society)', and qatlau 'layer (of mountain rocks)', etc. Such a solution to the problem obscures the etymological nature of the word and destroys the consistency of established pronunciation and spelling norms (compare, for example, the pronunciation and spelling of asïl 'essence', 'foundation' with the law according to which the phoneme s in inlaut changes to interdental θ, etc.).

The remaining questions concerning the specific nature of Bashkir orthography were solved by conforming to the features of the Kuvakan and Jurmatin dialects. The establishment and stabilization of Bashkir literary pronunciation norms were stimulated by such powerful factors as school, radio, and theater.

All these factors played a decisive role also in the popularization of the orthoepic norms of the loanwords which entered the Bashkir literary language during the years of socialist construction. If earlier foreign language borrowings entered the Bashkir language, undergoing significant phonetic changes, then they, during the period of orthoepic norm establishment, due to the above-mentioned factors, in the majority of cases entered into the speech of all the speakers of the Bashkir language without special changes.

Thus, in former borrowings the phoneme o, adapting itself to the phonological system of the Bashkir language, resulted in ӓ (bürbӓnӓ 'brevno'), i (compare kӓnӓfil 'kanifol'), ӧ (gorӧšak 'goršok'). In the borrowings of the same period a divergence is observed here only in the stressed syllable, where the phoneme o continues to result in u (compare zavxuz 'zavxoz', savxuz 'sovxoz', kalxuz 'kolxoz'). In unstressed syllables, this phoneme has a pronunciation almost identical with Russian (compare kamandir, kambajïn). Moreover, in many words its pronunciation, when stressed, in Bashkir is not distinct from its pronunciation in Russian (compare dipó, rajfó, rajzó, silpó, sel'pó, matór, 'motór', etc.).

In former borrowings the phoneme v consistently resulted in b (compare kӓmbirt 'konvert', patbal 'podval') or u (compare dauaj 'davaj', parauïð 'parovoz', samauïr 'samovar'). And only in word initial position, if followed by labial back vowels was it received as v (compare Volga, vulïs 'volost'). In those borrowings which entered into the speech of the forties it was adopted with all its characteristic Russian features: compare zavuč, zvanuk 'zvonok', kelivr 'klever', aviatsiӓ 'aviacija', etc. Only in a few words the phoneme v in intervocalic position continues to result in u (compare zvinauat 'zvenovod', gruppauat 'gruppovod', etc.).

The adoption of the phoneme e which, like the above mentioned two, contradicts the articulatory habits of the Bashkirs, is also of interest. This phoneme resulted in i in former borrowings (compare kӓmfit 'konfeta'), ӓ (compare kelӓj 'klej', pülӓmit 'pulemet', žirӓbӓ 'žrebij'), a (compare kulasa 'koleso'), ï (compare učïrït 'očered'). In the new borrowings

however of the type kreml', dizel', tabel', order, učitel', predcedatel', telegramma, etc., it is everywhere adopted without essential changes. Only in borrowings of the type akademik, qektar, desant, dežurnyj, respublika, patefon, among others, does it continue to result in i in a considerable number of dialects.

The phoneme č, at an earlier time resulting in š (compare pušti 'počta', ušut 'učet'), permanently entered the Bashkir language: compare izbač, učitel', vrač, Čexoslovakija, etc. In words of the type plašč the phoneme šč which entered the dialects with considerable difficulty was gradually adopted. The influence of borrowings on the adoption of the phonemes ë, ç, ju, ja was hardly perceptible (compare the dialectal pronunciation larjuk 'larëk', mantjur 'monter', kvitansï 'kvitancija', simint 'cement', kästüm 'kostjum', biro 'bjuro', etc.).

The prothesis of vowels,[36] characteristic of the Bashkir language, is not observed in the new borrowings: compare, on the one hand, the old borrowings of the type estinä 'stena', ïštan 'štany', ïstansï 'stancija' and new borrowings of the type student, štap, špion, značuk, značok, on the other.

The most important premise for the successful solution to questions concerning the orthoepy of the Bashkir language was the creation and perfection of a system of writing which was for a long time inaccessible to the broader masses. Constructed on the basis of the Arabic alphabet, it was inappropriate to the Bashkir language and it was not easy to understand. In 1929 a Latinized alphabet was adopted and later an alphabet based on Russian which guaranteed the independent designation of each phoneme of the Bashkir language.[37] This allowed for a system of spelling based on the

phonetic principle,[38] which noticeably facilitated the process of learning to write and served as a powerful conductor of pronunciation norms. On the other hand, the establishment of rigid pronunciation norms, in its turn, played an enormous mammoth role in working out a standard spelling, in so far as this was based on a phonetic principle.

The process of adopting spelling norms not based on orthoepy took a long time. This was caused, above all, by the insufficiently consistent rather an solution of a whole series of questions. Many rules were reconsidered several times, and spelling gradually became more uniform. However, it could be still more consistent and valid in the spelling of reduced vowels, affixes joined to borrowings, compound words, particles, joticized combinations, the designation of palatalization and non-palatalization of consonants, etc. syllables with j- at the onset lack of

Along with its inconsistency, the existing body of rules reveals an insufficient clarity, a failure to consider certain rules[39] and an obviously insufficient knowledge of confirmed practices of spelling (for example, the specific features of Bashkir pronunciation and writing considered above are not reflected in the existing body of rules). It goes without saying that many of these questions are partially touched upon in the orthographic dictionary. However, without a general rule, without rigid and clear regulating principles it is difficult to learn spelling from individual words in dictionary entries.[40]

The need for removing the above-mentioned deficiencies in spelling becomes even more urgent when one takes into consideration that spelling, when organized in conformity to the regularities of a given language, may be of considerable help in language building.

The process of establishing lexical norms for modern Bashkir was most lengthy and complex although it took place under the same favorable circumstances as the regulation of pronunciation and spelling. The dialects of Bashkir

diverged greatly with respect to vocabulary. At the beginning of the process of national language formation, the lexical structure of the Kuvakan and Jurmatïn dialects was in many respects opposed to the North-Western dialects. This concerned not only the layer of the lexicon connected with the specific productive activity of the speakers of one or another dialect, but semantic categories such as kinship, human and animal anatomy, household objects, etc., as well. From the words designating kinship, the following may be mentioned: Jur. and Kuv. äsä 'mother', qustï 'younger brother', apθïn 'the wives of cousins', jejän 'grandson', jejänsär 'granddaughter', bülä 'great-grandson', büläsät 'great-granddaughter', tïuar 'great great grandson', tïuasar 'great great granddaughter', tïua jat 'great great grandson' (fifth generation), jete jat 'great great grandson, great great granddaughter' (sixth generation), etc., which in the North-Western dialect are either designated by other words (compare North-Western inäj, inäkäj, äni 'mother', ene 'younger brother'), or are not designated at all (compare apθyn, among others). Among the words designating household objects and food are such, for example, as Kuv. and Jur. künäk 'bucket', toq 'bag', tojoð // tujïð 'birch box', sängelsäk 'cradle', tïɣïn 'cork', hoðgäk 'scoop', köräga 'barrel (for kumis)', semäk 'samovar spout', qur 'ferment for kumis', öšä 'flat cake', süsbärä 'meat dumplings'. Among words relating to other semantic categories may be mentioned Jur. and Kuv. börlätäu (in sound, Jr. bürlätäu) ('crop of a bird'), haman 'temple', soŋqa 'back of the head', bašalaj 'metatarsus', iŋrau 'sob', tampa 'fever', šajïk 'saliva', iŋkäu 'sloped', aral 'island', jäjɣor 'rainbow', bïɣat 'century', täu 'from the beginning', telmärjen 'frog', hïla 'pike perch', bele 'quack', uqra 'gadfly', käsärtke 'lizard', hombaš 'salmon', hüpaj 'screech-owl', qïraɣaj 'wild goat', haðanaq 'march rosemary', qalsan 'sow-thistle', qaraɣat 'currants', mïšar 'large fish', tärteškä 'poker', qïphïuïr 'pincers', qonan 'a young horse aged two to

three years', dünän 'a young horse from three to four years old', oryasï 'female sheep or goat of a certain age', säŋgär 'calf born in the summer', tüqal 'horn-less', ätämbäj 'goat born in the summer', hïbaj 'horseman', kir 'sorrel with pale white mane and tail (color of a horse)', häüerek 'a stallion over four years old', ülaq 'goat born in spring', hïðat 'clearing', jarka 'log', tabïk 'shaving', šïjða // kïual 'pole', jïšïu 'plane', toθqau 'take aim', märäj 'target', märgän 'outstanding shot', hüt 'juice', 'nectar', jabaj 'simple, ordinary', tolas 'disorderly', tonqos 'first-born', nögär 'groom', kïlïk 'action', ošak 'slander', jäkäl "uncle-bone", möjöš 'corner, among others.

The lexicon of the Kuvakan and Jurmatïn dialects differs from that of the North-Western dialect not only with respect to the structure of roots but with respect to the structure and meaning of a whole series of productive words. Compare, on the one hand, North-Western könläšeü 'to envy', tïniü 'to become silent', jalau 'lick', jalïnïu 'entreat', etc., and, on the other, Kuv. and Jur. könsüläü, tïmïu, jalmau, jalbarïu with the same meanings; compare also qašïk, in Jur. 'pilgrim', but in the North-Western dialect 'spoon', etc.

Under such conditions a highly complex process of vocabulary formation in literary Bashkir began. As a result of an absence of research on the lexicons of the leading Bashkir dialects, this process proceeded spontaneously for a long time, soon leading to a complete lack of coordination.

Exploiting this situation, bourgeois natioanlists and pan-Turkists tried in every way to attribute to the Bashkir language the characteristic features of the language Tjurka, archaisms which had long since entered the realm of legend,[41] dialectisms, jargonisms of Arabic and Persian origin and artificially created words, while Tartar "great power" chauvinists flooded the Bashkir language with Tartar words.[42]

The task of clarifying the national origin of the Bashkir lexicon became urgent. A great role was played in its solution by the Bashkir-Russian dictionary of V. Katarinsky.[43] Contrary to the tradition, established before the October Socialist Revolution of regarding the Bashkir language as one of the dialects of Tartar, V. Katarinsky considered it a separate language. This thesis found clear expression in his dictionary. Katarinsky succeeded in revealing such specific words of the Bashkir language as ajran 'sour milk', alsaq 'friendly', altïr 'brave', alïs 'far', anïk 'truth', arqïrï 'through', äšnä 'friend', bajyuš 'pauper', bujðak 'unmarried', hayïðak 'caterpillar', jalpaq 'flat', joma 'Friday', jïuasa 'a type of pastry', käsärtke 'lizard', kïlïu 'to do', märäj 'target', monar 'mist' (darkness), mujïl 'bird-cherry tree', šajïq 'saliva', and many others. Composed for the most part on the basis of materials collected from the Kuvakan dialect (this is attested by the reflection in the dictionary of the consonantal assimilation and dissimilation characteristic of that dialect), the dictionary of V. Katarinsky served, despite its incompleteness, as a most valuable contribution to the creation of national foundations for the Bashkir lexicon.

In the thirties, knowledge about the specific nature of the Bashkir lexicon was considerably enriched as the result of the direct study of the Kuvakan and Jurmatïn dialects. This permitted the inclusion in the literary language of the large majority of characteristic words from the Kuvakan and Jurmatïn dialects, described above. But this was not enough. It was imperative to remedy the lack of coordination in vocabulary usage which reigned at the time. On the other hand, it was necessary to enrich the vocabulary with new terms called for by the economic and cultural reformation of the Bashkir people.

In order to solve these problems a permanent terminological commission

of the Soviet of Ministers of the Bashkir A.S.S.R. was created in the forties. This commission worked out the principles of the lexical norms of the Bashkir language, generally stated in the work of T. G. Baišev.[44] These principles, which were improved upon as the appropriate experience was accumulated, based the development of the lexicon upon the resources of the Bashkir language itself and partially upon borrowed vocabulary. The terminological commission also conducted a great deal of practical research. It became the laboratory in which the norms of the Bashkir lexicon were worked out, it examined and approved a number of terms created on the basis of the above-mentioned principles, as well as the first normative dictionary which included sociopolitical and philosophical terms.[45] Immediately after the above-mentioned dictionary, there appeared terminological dictionaries of botany,[46] chemistry,[47] mathematics,[48] physics,[49] linguistics,[50] and medicine.[51]

Continuing this extremely valuable work, the Institute of History, Language, and Literature of the Bashkir branch of the A.S.U.S.S.R. in recent years published a second series of terminological dictionaries of mathematics,[52] physics,[53] chemistry,[54] geography,[55] botany,[56] zoology,[57] forestry,[58] and others.[59] The lack of coordination in the designation of identical concepts observed in the first terminological dictionaries is absent, and the glossary is considerably expanded.

The exceptionally large work on terminology in many respects facilitated the establishment of unified lexical norms for the Bashkir literary language. Owing to this work, good translations of the classics of Marxism-Leninism and of artistic, scientific, scientific-technical, and educational literature were produced. In the first years of the existence of the Bashkir A.S.S.R., translations from Russian were of necessity free arrangements of the original. But

with the passage of time it was impossible to be satisfied with such arbitrary translations, especially in stabilized textbooks, and in political and scientific literature. Stricter demands were placed on translations which only began to be satisfied after the creation of terminological dictionaries and after the preparation of qualified translation specialists. This made terminology from Russian, which gradually acquired national significance, accessible to the Bashkir language.

Only in recent decades have many terms, borrowed from Russian and belonging to the most different semantic categories, become the property of the broad masses. A number of derivatives were formed from these foreign language bases with the help of the productive affixes and word-forming types of the Bashkir language (compare buntarlïq 'rioting', novatorlïq 'innovation', bol'ševistik 'Bolshevik', partijalï 'party (adj.)', kul'turahïð 'uncultured', xarakterhïð 'without character', staxanov metodï 'Stakhanovite method').

Translations not only constituted a source of new terms and helped establish lexical norms but also caused the enrichment and development of the semantic system of the language as a result of the broad application of calqueing. In modern Bashkir we are quite often confronted with calques of foreign language terms: ïsïnbarlïq 'reality', öθqorma 'superstructure', xeðmät geroizmï 'labor heroism', kul'tura frontï 'cultural front', kul'tura-aγartïu eše 'culturally instructive work', kul'tura-politik aγartïu 'cultural-political education', artïk eteštereü 'over-production', etc.

The literary formation and enrichment of the Bashkir lexicon, as well as the establishment and stabilization of spelling norms, the development and improvement of syntactic and stylistic resources, are most of all connected, however, with the periodical press and the extensive artistic literature which have appeared in the native language in the Soviet period. The process of establishing literary

norms for the Bashkir national language, like its development process, as was noted above, is basically connected with this very period.

In the twenties and later during the stormy development of the Bashkir economy and culture the role of the periodical press in the cultural and social life of the entire Bashkir people grew to unusual proportions. The first newspapers and journals in the Bashkir language which appeared during this period became the property of the broad masses of Bashkirs. The Republic newspapers acquired especially large distribution and popularity: "Bašqortostan" (which later changed its name to "Qïðïl Baškortostan"), "Sovet Bašqortostanï", "Leninse", "Jäš töðöüse" and the journals: "Jaŋï jol", "Belem", "Säsän", "Oktjabc". The main centers of journalism in the twenties were Ufa and Sterlitamak. At the present time more than twenty newspapers are published in the Bashkir language in the regional centers.

The language and style of the periodical press at the beginning of the twenties constituted a natural continuation of the best traditions of the written language with, however, a broader popular base, the bolder and more decisive utilization of elements from all the dialects and patois of Bashkiria, with the slight domination of elements from the North-Western and Jurmatin dialects. This was particularly clearly expressed in artistic literature, especially in the works of first generation Bashkir Soviet writers: M. Gafurï, A. Tagirov, D. Jultïj, S. Kudaš, G. Gumar, G. Xajri, B. Valit, Š. Xudajberdin, and others, who acquired great popularity among the Bashkir people as early as the twenties. The efforts of these writers were directed towards the reflection in the Bashkir language of those characteristic features which were present in the Kuvakan and Jurmatin dialects and which have not yet entered into literary Bashkir as a norm. The revelation and skillful use of these features of the Bashkir language in artistic

literature facilitated their integration in the common national system of the Bashkir language, all the more because the language of the above-mentioned authors merited consideration as the model for all Bashkir journalists and writers. Significant in this respect also are the merits of the succeeding generation of Bashkir writers: G. Amiri, A. Karnaj, S. Agiš, I. Zajni, B. Bikbaj, G. Masgut, K. Išmaj, R. Nigmati, A. Vali, M. Karim, S. Miftaxov, X. Karim, G. Saljam, M. Xaj, M. Taži, K. Dajan, K. Margan (A. Kireev), A. Bikčantaev, I. Abdullin, G. Axmetšin, G. Ramazanov, and others. Through their works a powerful stream flowed into the system of the Bashkir national language: not only the characteristics of the Bashkir language present in the Kuvakan and Jurmatin dialects but also elements from the North-Western dialect itself. The most significant role was played by the works of X. Ibragimov,[60] G. Gumar, G. Xajri, Babič, and the preceding literary tradition (in the work of M. Gafuri and S. Kudaš). The introduction into the common national system of the Bashkir language of elements of dialects and patois to a certain extent met the growing terminological needs, enriched the synonym resources of the Bashkir national language,[61] and thus broadened its stylistic possibilities.

The establishment of unified phonetic, grammatical, and lexical norms was a necessary premise for the subsequent successful development of the Bashkir national language. Gradually unifying its variants, it constituted the basis of Bashkir language unity. Most of the essential changes in the conversational speech and in the dialects take place at present under the ever-growing unifying influence of standardized literary Bashkir,[62] which, owing to a thick network of schools, the establishment of universal elementary education, the growth of the national literature, press, films, and theaters pervades all spheres of communication at the present time. All the dialects

and patois of Bashkiria, excluding the North-Western dialect which, as formerly, is undergoing the strong influence of the Tartar literary language[63] and for this reason (and also because of the above-mentioned factors) has changed to such an extent that the question of its belonging to the Bashkir national language is quite justly considered extremely controversial,[64] are now undergoing notable improvements under the influence of the standard norms. It is natural that the North-Western dialect, converging more and more with the Tartar literary language, cannot oppose the influence of the Tartar national language and enter the system of the Bashkir national language. Only certain of its patois, territorially coming into contact with the Jurmatin dialect,[65] are in the sphere of influence of the standardized Bashkir literary language which, in the end, will apparently lead to their merging with the Jurmatin dialect.

Inconsistency: you give the Bashkir titles only in Bashkir but you translate the Russian titles.

[FOOTNOTES]

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1. K. Axmerov, "Bašqort äðäbi teleneŋ formalašïu häm üseü juldarï". In journal Äðäbi Bašqortostan No. 4, Ufa, 1957, pp. 69, 70.

2. Ibid. Cf. also the book Salavat Julaev. Ufa, Press of the Bashkir branch of the A.S.U.S.S.R., 1952.

3. Created in 1788 by an ukase of the Tsarist government, the Central Spiritual Jurisdiction of the Muslims, as is known, took under its supervision all spheres of the ideological and spiritual life of the Bashkir people.

4. In this connection the works of a few writers of bourgeois-nationalistic orientation should be noted, particularly those of S. Jakšigulova and F. Sulejmanova, among others.

5. Cf. R. M. Raimov, The Formation of the Bashkir A.S.S.R., Moscow, 1952, pp. 59; R. G. Kuzeev, The Tribal Structure of the Bashkirs in the XVIII Century, in the collection Voprosy baškirskoj filologii, Moscow, 1959. Cf. also the well-known studies of A. P. Čulošnikov.

6. Cf. A. Usmanov, The Joining of Bashkirs to the Moscow Government, Ufa, 1950, pp. 8-17.

7. Cf. V. M. Čeremšanskij, An Economic, Statistical, and Industrial Description of the Orenburg Government, Ufa, 1859.

8. R. M. Raimov, Formation of the Bashkir A.S.S.R., pp. 53.

9. Cf. R. G. Kuzeev, The Tribal Structure of the Bashkirs in the XVIII Century, pp. 61.

10. Ibid., pp. 62.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.

13. Many of the above-mentioned tribes, for example the Usergan, Tangaur, Nogaj-Burzjan, Duvan-Tabyn, Kataj, and Sal'jut entered the Bashkir tribal union at a relatively late period of ethnic development. Originating, for the most part, from the various Turkic tribes of Central Asia, they lived in the same socio-economic conditions favorable to the preservation of linguistic features, as did the other tribes represented in Bashkiria.

14. The dialectal material introduced here and in the following account is taken from these doctoral dissertations: D. G. Kiekbaev, The Orthoepy of the Bashkir Literary Language, Ufa, 1949; T. G. Baišev, The Bashkir Dialects in Relation to the Literary Language, Moscow, 1955; N. X. Išbulatov, The Dialect of a Village of the Kazmaševo Abzelilov Region of the Bashkir A.S.S.R, Moscow, 1955; X. N. Jusupov, Asin Dialect of the Bashkir Language, Moscow, 1955. Material is also drawn from the results of dialectological expeditions kept in the manuscript collection in the Institute of the History of the Language and Literature of the Bashkir branch of the A.S.U.S.S.R.

15. Cf. N. K. Dmitriev, Bashkir Grammar, Moscow, 1948.

16. Ibid., pp. 18.

17. Ibid., pp. 40; D. G. Kiekbaev, The Orthoepy of the Bashkir Literary Language.

18. N. K. Dmitriev, op. cit., pp. 35.

19. Ibn-Fadlan's Journey to the Volga, Moscow and Leningrad, 1939, pp. 63-68; D. A. Xvol'son, Ibn-Dast's Account of the Khazars, Burtars, Bulgars, Magyars, Slavs, and Rus., St. Petersburg, 1869, pp. 713.

20. The nomadic way of life brought together the most diverse tribal dialects and patois and facilitated leveling.

21. The North-Western dialect of the Bashkir language.

22. An exceptional case of diphthongization in inlaut is observed only in the word teješ 'must'. Cf. the North-Western tiješ with the same meaning.

23. Besides the above-mentioned factors, it is also necessary to mention that the Kuvakan and Jurmatin dialects, most specifically representing the specific details of the national Bashkir language, were found in that part of Bashkiria which, at the time, did not have leading economic or linguistic significance. Due to the development of the capitalistic system in North-Western Bashkiria and subsequent reinforcement of the role of the North-Western dialect, these dialects are gradually losing meaning in the social life of the Bashkirs. As a result of this the literate portion of the Bashkir people has gradually become bilingual: Bashkir has been used in everyday speech, while Tartar has been used primarily in all other cases. This in many respects facilitated the wide distribution among the Bashkirs of artistic literature and periodicals in the Tartar language. Let it suffice to say that more than ten

newspapers, several journals and many books in the Taftar language which became popular throughout Bashkiria were being published in the twenties in Ufa and Orenburg alone. All this, together with such factors as the national colonizing policies of the Tsarist government and the related economic and cultural backwardness of the Bashkir people connected therewith, the absence of Bashkir home government and writing, the strengthening of Taftar emperialistic chauvinism, etc., completely precluded the possibility of Bashkir national language formation.

24. Under the leadership of M. Gafuri, the classicist in Bashkir literature, the newly created national publishers' board ~~national printing college~~ attracted the greatest savants of the Bashkir language. This enabled the language and style of all literature to be improved because the linguistic norms which were worked out were considered a model for all Bashkiria.

25. Cf. the newspaper "Bašqortostan xäbärläre", Sterlitamak, April 2, 1921.

26. Cf. M. Baxtijarov's article on Bashkir dialects in the newspaper "Bašqortostan xäbärläre", No. 7, 1921. Cf. the main orthoepic and orthographic rules in relation to the reviewed features from the Kuvakan and Jurmatin dialects which have been published in the journal "Belem" (Ufa, No. 1-2, 1924).

27. Cf. A. A. Juldašev, The Bashkir Language, in the collection New Written Literary Languages of the U.S.S.R., Moscow and Leningrad, 1959.

28. Cf. A. A. Juldašev, The Bashkir Language.

29. In this respect, Bashkir is to a certain extent close to Turkmen.

30. For example, as distinct from all the other dialects of the Bashkir language, the phoneme l at the beginning of all affixes (-lar, -la, -lĭq, lĭ), after voiceless consonants of the base, is replaced by the variant t (compare eš+läj > eštäj 'he, she works', batqaq+lĭq > batqaqtĭq 'swamp', taš+lĭ > taštĭ 'containing rock').

31. As distinct from the Kuvakan and Jurmatin dialects, in this dialect there is no dissimilation of consonants, while assimilation applies only to a limited number of affixes (the affix -lĭ, for example, is not assimilated) and occurs in correspondence with the norms of Tartar.

32. The forms of the past categorical tense and all oblique cases change in correspondence with the norms of the Kuvakan dialect, while affixes containing initial l (-lar, -la, -lĭq) are in correspondence with the norms of the North-Western dialect; only the affix -lĭ assimilates differently from the other dialects.

33. Compare the practice, existing now and which existed before 1925, of standardizing phenomena of assimilation and dissimilation with respect to affixes with initial l (-lar, -lĭk, -lĭ, -la). The assimilation and dissimilation of initial l in the affixes listed above, in the affix of the past categorical tense and in oblique case affixes entered the literary norm from the Jurmatin dialect.

34. Here, for example, as distinct from the literary norm, initial affix l after base m, n consistently results in n: urman+lar > urmannar 'forest gen.' (compare Bashkir urmandar), etc.

35. The norms operative with respect to n and d are based on Kuvakan and

Jurmatïn dialect regularities, those operative with respect to l, applicable to the affix -lar, are founded on the pronunciation practices of the Kuvakan dialect, while those applicable to other affixes (-lïq, -lï, -la) are partially based on the norms of the Jurmatïn dialect, partially on the pronunciation regularities of the North-Western dialect, but mainly on the etymological nature of the affixes listed.

36. N. K. Dmitriev, A Grammar of the Bashkir Language, pp. 116.

37. Cf. A. A. Juldašev, The Bashkir Language.

38. Together with the absolute dominence of the phonetic principle which forms the basis for Bashkir spelling, a morphological principle is also represented, spreading, in the main, to loan words from the Russian language.

39. Such, for example, is the following formulation: "In words ending in 'q-k', if these sounds do not alternate with 'γ-g' when joined to a vowel, 'o-e', 'ï-e' is written neither in the root nor in different forms of the word", (K. Z. Axmerov, Orfografik hüðlek, Moscow, 1952, rule no. 15), i.e., words of the type qïrq 'forty', qïrqïncï 'fortieth', jolq 'to rip' must be written qrq, qrqns, jlq.

40. I have in mind K. Z. Axmerov's Orfografik hüðlek (Ufa, 1941). This work played a large role in the establishment of a standard spelling. The second edition of this dictionary (Moscow, 1952) was especially valuable. It included an orthography guide, where the description of the consolidated system of spelling was systematized and considerably supplemented. In particular, the author was first in formulating rules concerning the use of the letter ë, the devoicing of final l and n in intervocalic position, the

spelling of the endearment particles ɣïha//qïna//kenä//genä, etc.

41. In particular, archaisms of the type alanqort instead of qoros 'steel', orom instead of näsel 'type', küsäm instead of jetäkse 'leader', akpan instead of janvar' 'January', naurïð instead of fevral' 'February', etc.

42. M. R. Kuziev, Bašqort yaðïüïn rus alfavitïna küsereü turahïndaɣï mä' älägä qarata. Newspaper Qïðïl Bašqortostan, No. 151. Ufa, 1939. Cf. aso T. G. Baišev, The Bashkir Dialects in Relation to the Literary Language.

43. X. V. Katarinskij, Bashkir Dictionary, Orenburg, 1899.

44. T. G. Baišev, The Bashkir Dialects in Relation to the Literary Langage, pp. 80. Cf. also the draft resolution "Bašqort äðäbi tele terminologijahïnïŋ, principtäre turahïndaɣï doklad bujïnsa". Ufa, 1940. L. Galidov, G. Išblatov, "Termindär turahïnda kajhï-ber fekerðär", in the newspaper Qïðïl Bašqortostan, Dec. 4, 1940; T. Baiš, "Bašqort telendäge kajhï-ber hüððär turahïnda", i the newspaper Bašqortostan, Ufa, October 17, 1940; K. Äxmär, "Bašqort äðäbi teleneŋ leksika normahï häm terminologija mäs' älälärе", in the journal Oktjabr, No. 7, Ufa, 1948.

45. Bašqort tele termindärä hüðlägä (Social'-ekonomik-fälsäfä termindäre), Bulletin No. 1, Ufa, 1931.

46. A. S. Baranov, Z. Šakirov, The Names of Plants in the Latin, Russian, and Bashkir Languages, Edition 1, Ufa, 1932.

47. I. Išmuxametov, N. Urazmatov, G. Jusupov, Ximiya Termindärä, Ufa, 1934.

48. X. Abdrašitov, M. Srumov et al., Matematika termindäre, Ufa, 1934.

49. Sulejmanov, Emasov, Gazizov, and Safin, Fizika termindäre, Ufa, 1934.

50. Z. I. Šakirov, Language Terms, Ufa, 1935.

51. M. N. Muxammedov, X. Abdrašidov, Urïssa-latinska-bašqorsta medicina termindäre, Ufa, 1935.

52. K. F. Bajramgulov and K. Galimov, Russa-bašqorsta matematika termindäre, Ufa, 1949.

53. Š. Čuraev, Russa-Bašqortsa fizika termindäre, Ufa, 1949.

54. I. Išmuxametov, Russa-Bašqortsa ximija termindäre, Ufa, 1950.

55. M. E. Xakimov, Geografija termindäre hüðlege, Ufa, 1952.

56. S. A. Baranov, The Names of Plants in the Latin, Russian, and Bashkir Languages, Edition 2, Ufa, 1952.

57. T. G. Baišev, Zoologija termindäre hüðlege, Ufa, 1952.

58. A. I. Jarmuxametov, Urman eše termindäre hüðlege, Ufa, 1954.

59. Speaking of terminological work in Bashkiria, the new trend which began in connection with the appearance of N. K. Dmitriev's book Grammatical Terminology of the Textbooks in the Native Language (Moscow, 1955) must not be passed over in silence. This work is the first attempt at theoretical generalization of all that has been done within the realm of Bashkir grammatical terminology. Of special value is the annotation suggested by the author of existing and possible variants of corresponding terms. This will help to unify and improve the grammatical terminology in Bashkir language textbooks. A generalization of the results of establishing terminology

in the realm of the sociopolitical and technical sciences should become the subject of special research.

60. His play "Bašmaγïm", performed in the Bashkir theater for the first time in 1921, was very popular among the Bashkirs. Among the remaining fifteen plays written by X. Ibragimov, "Eγnäkäj" also stands out in this respect.

61. Cf. T. G. Baišev, The Bashkir Dialects in Relation to the Literary Language, pp. 96, 97.

62. Along with the enrichment of dialects with respect to elements not represented in dialects, there occurs, on the one hand, the gradual replacement of dialectisms by corresponding equivalent terms from the Bashkir literary language and, on the other, the struggle between mutually exclusive dialectal and literary doublets, which are equally well known to all speakers of the given dialect, but are used by them far from uniformly (dialectal doublets, for example, are persistently retained by the older generation, while they are used by the youth, for the most part only in colloquial speech).

63. Clerical work, teaching in schools, technological institutes, and teachers' colleges are conducted in the territory of this dialect in the Tartar language. In Ufa the republic newspaper "Kommuna", intended for speakers of the North-Western dialect, appears in the Tartar language. In this dialect region there are more than twenty regional newspapers published in the Tartar language. Besides this the population uses extensively every kind of printed matter published in the Tartar language.

64. Many consider this dialect to be Tartar. Certain linguists however, on the basis of two features of the Bashkir language which survived in this dialect (the replacement of original d and z in inlaut and auslaut by interdental ð and the use of the combination aj instead of Tartar ǐj in forming the present tense: compare Tartar qarǐj with North-Western qaraj 'he, she is looking'), and the national affiliation of the speakers of this dialect, related it to the Bashkir national language. They raise a question of the creation of a second literary Bashkir language for the speakers of the given dialect, the necessity of which can be hardly justified either from the practical point of view (the language of the speakers of this dialect fully guarantees communication with the people using the modern Bashkir language and other varieties of the Bashkir national language), or from the scientific point of view (the natural development of this dialect is such that a second literary language would not yield the anticipated results, the dialect, as before, follows with complete regularity a path of unification with the Tartar literary language inasmuch as even today those factors which are conditioning this process remain in force).

65. Here also belong the separate dialects of Bashkirs living compactly in the Davlekan, Buzdjak, and other regions of North-Western territory of the Bashkir A.S.S.R.

I do not think it is good idea to translate the Russian text into English. The text of readers might think the magazine concerned is in any case in English but it will never find time to catalogue!